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[779] Marriages to cross-cousins are justified by myths telling that as long as there have been Tuareg there have also been marriages of this type. There are also legends or stories to prove that such marriages have always been good, other types of marriages bad. Cross-cousin marriage is further said to be preferred because it results in an exchange of individuals and livestock between two families. Finally cross-cousin marriage is considered the best type of marriage because institutional joking exists between cross-cousins. For although joking between cross-cousins will stop with marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between husband and wife is said to reduce troubles and quarrels between them.

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221 Among the Kel Ferouan joking between cross-cousins goes together with joking between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and also with avoidance between children-in-law and parents-in-law. Radcliffe-Brown has explained these two different types of behaviour as parts of one and the same system within which they have an identical social function, namely that of preventing conflicts (Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56 ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). I have elsewhere treated this theory (Nicolaisen 1957a, 1957b, 1959b). Here I shall content myself with the statement that my Tuareg material seems to confirm the theory set forth by Radcliffe-Brown, the more so as I have been able to find cases of transition between the two outwardly most different modes of behaviour. The extent to which joking is carried on between partners of the same sex is always dependent on age. Between two male cross-cousins or two brothers-in-law there will be little or no joking if they are of very different age, and in very extreme cases joking may in fact change into avoidance. It is also interesting that in most Kel Ferouan clans there is institutional joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife. According to the rules of preferential mating she may later become his mother-in-law, whom in that case he must avoid very strictly. This custom, however, does not seem to be found in [184] the Iforas clans which were adopted into the Kel Ferouan drum-group about a hundred years ago. I think that Radcliffe-Brown's theory on joking and avoidance is very important, and I shall later in this study present material to support it.

601 The particular position of cross-cousins is indicated in the kinship system (fig. 8) which also shows that there are particular terms for children of cross-cousins and for certain matrilineal relatives. As clans, according to traditional rules, are groups of matrilineally related persons it would seem natural that succession to clan chieftainship followed the maternal line. This is also stated by Nicolas, who claims the line of succession to be as follows:— 1) the brother of the deceased chief; 2) his mother's sister's son; 3) his sister's son. According to Nicolas this rule of succession also holds for the Ahaggar Tuareg and for the Kel Geres (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). Rodd states the traditional rule of succession in Air as matrilineal. But he claims 614 that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and he refers to the fact that 613 this rule has often been followed at the election of Sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.).

It is frequently mentioned in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the

1. [p. 202, category 116. — Analysis]

601 Ahaggar Tuareg use the following terms for these three classes of kinsmen:— (1) *arwi* ("back") which term is used for relatives of the father's family its true meaning being a group of patrilineally related men; (2) *téa* ("stomach") which is used for the mother's family with the correct meaning referring to a group of matrilineally related women; (3) *séghé* ("side", correctly the place between the hips and the lower part of the chest). The proper meaning of this word is "persons descending from sisters and from their parallel female cousins in the maternal line", and is used to indicate the relationship between a man and his true and classificatory sisters' children. — The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr have similar terms with the same meaning:— (1) *arwi* ("back") for father's family; (2) *tedist* ("stomach") for mother's family — the word *téa* in the Ayr dialect means "liver" and not stomach; (3) *séghé* ("side") with the same meaning as *séghé* in Ahaggar; the two words are identical, as the *g* in Ayr is always substituted with a *g*, the *h* frequently with a *z* or *j*. This word in Ayr is used to designate all true and classificatory sister's children, while the Ahaggar Tuareg refer to these relatives by the terms *agg elet ma* and *welt elet ma*. The term *égazé* used by the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg for the children of true and classificatory sister's children is related to *séghé*; it also refers to part of the side.

602 The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr largely follow the same rules of kinship behaviour. These are outlined below:—

(1) Respect must be shown to all consanguineous relatives of ascending generations, that is respect towards all relatives termed "father", "mother", and "mother's brother".

(2) Respect must be shown to all persons known as "elder brothers" and "elder sisters". Rules of conduct towards such kinsmen are identical with those mentioned above towards kinsmen of ascending generations. Thus a younger brother on a journey with his elder brother will carry out all work as if he was with his father or another kinsman of ascending generations. When with his elder brother he must not talk about any matter referring to sexual life. He must not even talk too much about the copulation of domestic animals, and he should not mention such words as *imzad* and *tindé* — names of musical instruments used at nightly gatherings which may be accompanied by love-making. A man must not ask his elder brother for a gift, but should ask for anything he wants through a third person. When he wishes to marry, the permission of his elder brother should be asked like that of the father and other older relatives. When the father dies the elder brother takes over his position of authority. The identical rules of conduct towards a father (or older relative) and an elder brother can be clearly

[123] shown by the following example:— When I lived among the Tuareg I was incorporated in their kinship organization which is the rule for persons who have no relatives among the people they live among. Once I was attached as a younger brother to a man much older than myself. When travelling together among other Tuareg my "elder brother" was occasionally asked: "Are you his father?", and when replying:— "No, I am his elder brother", the questioner would sometimes add:— "Now, there is his father". For classificatory elder brothers (and sisters) the same rules are valid, even though in this case the "elder brother" may in fact be considerably younger than his "younger brother".

605 (3) There is a joking relationship (*tekmelzitt* in Ahaggar, *adlen* in Ayr) between all true and classificatory cross-cousins. This joking relationship allows free talk about sexual matters, and when cross-cousins tease each other they frequently refer to matters of sexual life, e.g., "You sleep with old slave women!", "You run after women like a donkey-stallion after a mare!" Teasing permits

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any insolence, even the tearing away of a cross-cousin's veil in public. Insolence always incurs retaliation, and joking frequently gives rise to *tebbillant*, that is a sham-fight. A fight of this kind will normally end with the loafing part running away with something belonging to his cousin. He gives this back only if he feels like it, for cross-cousins are allowed to take each other's things. The same type of joking exists between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law in Ahaggar and in Ayr.

(4) There is avoidance between parents-in-law and children-in-law in the way that a man avoids very strictly his mothers-in-law, a woman very strictly her fathers-in-law. This rule of conduct is valid for all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr. A man should not talk to his mother-in-law, and must never eat in her presence; he will avoid her tent, and if visiting her camp he will live at a distance of about one hundred metres from her. Similar rules hold for a woman and her father-in-law. Avoidance is less strictly observed between a man and his father-in-law, and there is generally very little avoidance between a woman and her daughter-in-law.

So far we have seen that the Tuareg of Ahaggar and the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr follow the same rules of kinship behaviour. But there seems to be one important distinction between the two Tuareg groups. For in Ayr there is an institutional joking relationship (*addlen*) with the wives of mother's brothers including the spouses of the classificatory mother's brothers. This type of joking is similar to that of cross-cousins. The initiative for joking is taken by the mother's brother's wife who begins to tease her husband's sisters' children even when they are babies. The little children soon learn to retaliate and they quickly become those who take the initiative in joking and teasing. - I do not believe that this type of joking with a mother's brother's wife is practised in Ahaggar. It has been denied by informants, but it may perhaps be practised by members of certain tribes which originate in Ayr wherefrom they have immigrated to Ahaggar. Joking with a mother's brother's wife is also unknown in the *Iforas* tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. These tribes arrived in Ayr about a hundred years ago from Adrar of the *Iforas*, where Tuareg have no joking relationship with a mother's brother's wife.

(5) We should mention as a characteristic of Tuareg kinship behaviour that it is considered the right of a man to take domestic animals from particular kinsmen.

In Ahaggar a man can take animals from his father, his father's father, his true mother's brothers, from certain classificatory mother's brothers (mother's mother's sister's son; mother's mother's brother, and the latter's son), from his mother's father, who is not a classificatory mother's brother by name, but it is said that he is much like a mother's brother to the person in question. In addition, cross-cousins, as mentioned above, can take each other's property.

In Ayr it is said that apart from his right to take domestic animals from his cross-cousins a man can also take animals from his parents and his true mother's brothers, though not allowed to take them from any of his classificatory mother's brothers.

I have enquired particularly among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr about this right to take animals from kinsmen. They said that if a man wants to take animals from a kinsman it is necessary for him to inform the "victim" about it through a third person shortly after he has done so. If he does not mention to somebody else that he has taken animals from one of his kinsmen, the act is considered a kind of ordinary theft. But if the "victim" is informed about the matter shortly after the animals have been taken, he can generally not complain about it, as this is considered very poor behaviour.

Cross-Cousin Marriage

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The custom of giving sandal gifts to a cross-cousin of the bride is unknown among the *Kel Ferwan* 582
 Tuareg, who also claim that cross-cousin marriage and particularly that with a true mother's brother's
 daughter is the best type of marriage. But though they consider such marriages ideal they admit that
 some cross-cousin marriages will not last long. For closely related cross-cousins have frequently grown 586
 up together, and it is said that such cousins when they have married sometimes agree to dissolve their
 marriage on the ground that they feel like brother and sister so that there is no mutual attraction or
 love between them. This is only one of many reasons for divorce which is extremely common in all
 tribes of Ahaggar and Ayr. Briggs' statement from the Ahaggar Tuareg that divorce is both unusual 587
 and generally frowned upon is absolutely untrue (Briggs 1959, p. 86).

According to the Tuareg there are many reasons why a man should preferably marry a cross-cousin 582
 and ideally a mother's brother's daughter. Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg I have collected the following
 arguments in favour of cross-cousin marriage:— (1) All people (that is, all Tuareg) descend from one
 and the same woman, and her sons and daughters consequently had to marry one another. Their offspring
 established cross-cousin marriage which has been the rule since then. (2) There are many stories told
 to confirm the contention that cross-cousin marriages are good, while other marriages are bad. There
 is, for example, the following legend:— Once upon a time the parents of a young Tuareg arranged for
 him to marry a cross-cousin. This Tuareg, however, was not in love with his cross-cousin but wanted
 to marry another woman with whom he had no kinship bonds. The result of all this was that he
 married both his cross-cousin and the other woman. After this it so happened that a heavy punish-
 ment was imposed on him by the Sultan. It could be atoned for in one of the following two ways:
 He could give all his livestock as a fine, or he could have one of his hands cut off. To make his
 choice he now asked his two wives whether they thought he should loose his hand or rather give
 away all his stock. The wife to whom he had no bonds of kinship considered that he should keep his
 animals and have his hand cut off, while his cross-cousin wife asked him to dispose of flock and herd
 to save his hand. He thus realized that it is best to marry a cross-cousin. (3) It is considered good to
 marry a cross-cousin because cross-cousins are always extremely good friends. (4) The institutional
 joking relationship between cross-cousins is considered an important institution in preventing con-
 flicts between married partners. For though joking between two cross-cousins stops on marriage, the
 mere fact that there has been joking between them prevents quarrels and adds to the stable
 relationship between husband and wife. (5) Cross-cousin marriage has an important economic function
 as it establishes a constant exchange of persons, goods, and livestock between two families.

The three latter arguments in favour of cross-cousin marriage are also supported by the Ahaggar
 Tuareg. These arguments are very important and will now be discussed in some detail. There is no 605
 doubt at all that cross-cousins of both sexes are extremely good friends. They do not joke just to annoy
 each other, and when joking they laugh and feel very pleased. Cross-cousins who have not seen each
 other for a considerable time are always pleased to meet. When doing so after a long separation they
 may make jocular remarks and gestures, but they will also be very kind to each other. They frequently
 address each other heartily as "cross-cousin", and male cousins will walk around hand in hand, while
 a woman will do her utmost to please a visiting male cousin. She will serve him the best possible 633
 food, will mend his clothes, and she will play her violin for him. Joking goes with intimate friendship. 582

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women of their own matrilineage particularly suitable seems to be connected with these rules of residence and succession. Marriages with maternal kinswomen are clearly advantageous to the Ahaggar Tuareg, where residence is ultimately matrilocal, while such marriages in Ayr have no proper justification. 582
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Tuareg kinship systems in Ahaggar and among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg seem to be adapted to cross-cousin marriage. Parallel cousins are termed brothers and sisters, while there is a particular term for cross-cousins and between them an institutional joking relationship which facilitates contact and marriage. The Tuareg seem to admit that one function of joking between cross-cousins is to promote marriages between them, and they say that in the period during which a man and a woman are in love with each other before marriage - a period which is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg as *téreljek* - there will always be joking between them even though the two persons are unrelated. 601
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Joking relationship between cross-cousins has another function in addition to that of facilitating marriage. In the description of political systems it has been mentioned that joking plays a rôle in preventing conflicts between people of different classes and castes. When a man marries a cross-cousin, his cross-cousins will become brothers and sisters-in-law with whom joking continues, and there will always be joking with the brothers and sisters of a spouse unless a man marries a particular kinswoman (cf. p. 466). It is the rule that there is joking with brothers and sisters in-law who preferably are also one's cross-cousins so that this joking relationship should in such cases have existed even before marriage. I believe that this convention helps to restrict conflicts between a person and the spouse's family of his own generation, and that joking between in-laws of the same generation has much the same function as has avoidance between parents-in-law and sons and daughters-in-law. There can be no doubt that this type of avoidance is important to the maintenance of good relations between in-laws of different generations, the more so as the Tuareg explain their avoidance relationships by saying that it is only natural that avoidance is particularly strict between people of different sexes in the way that a man avoids his mother-in-law very strictly, a woman her father-in-law equally strictly, for a man has a particularly strong influence over his son, and a woman possesses a corresponding influence over her daughter; consequently conflicts between a man and his mother-in-law, and between a woman and her father-in-law can easily arise. 602

Radcliffe-Brown was the first to point out the identical functions of joking and avoidance. These outwardly such different types of behaviour both serve to prevent conflicts between in-laws (cf. Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56 ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). This theory is very important, and I believe that it is not only confirmed but augmented by the material I have brought back from the Tuareg. It is clear that conflicts cannot easily arise between two persons who avoid each other, and the same is true of two joking partners as when everything is permitted, it is difficult to quarrel. Morally, joking is considered a very good thing, and cross-cousins who do not like to joke much are in public opinion bad cross-cousins. However, the intensity of joking between cross-cousins depends very much on the age difference between the two if they belong to the same sex. There will always be much joking between cross-cousins of the same age, while cross-cousins of very different age will joke very little or not at all. With extreme difference in age, two male cross-cousins may even change their joking relationship into avoidance, though this does not seem to be normal. 605

The Function of Wedding Ceremonies

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initiation rites. Arnold van Gennep in his famous study on rites of passage long ago pointed out the universal occurrence of such rites including wedding ceremonies (van Gennep 1909). But it seems as if their functional position has never been described in great detail, so I shall now try to analyse Tuareg wedding ceremonies where the groom and the bride were cross-cousins as prescribed by traditional marriage customs. Such a marriage gives rise to important modifications of kinship behaviour as follows:—

(1) Until their marriage the groom and the bride had a joking relationship to one another. It seems as if this tends to stop before marriage when the groom and the bride have come to know each other well but even though joking may cease before marriage, the position of the two cross-cousins becomes entirely different once they have married. For though the two have almost the same rights, the wife is expected to show her husband great respect, and while the husband will always address his wife by her name this is not reciprocal. A wife cannot address her husband by his name, but must call him *amrar* which means "the old one" in a respectful sense. It is used as a designation for all elderly people to whom respectful behaviour is necessary, and is also a term for tribal chiefs (cf. p. 396). In Ayr a wife may also address her husband as *mai-gidd*, a word of Hausa origin, but with much the same meaning. The wife may also address her husband as the father of one of their children, e.g., *adda n Mokhammed*, that is "Mohammed's father". The wife's behaviour towards her husband should on the whole be very much like that of a person towards people of ascending generations. She is not expected to talk too much in her husband's company, and must not talk at all when strangers are visiting the camp. — One of the functions of the wedding ceremony is change of the free behaviour between partners into a respect relation. All Tuareg questioned about the matter have admitted that during the wedding ceremony they have felt almost "afraid" or "ashamed" towards the wife. Some of them say that though they already knew the bride extremely well sexually they did not cohabit with her during the seven days' stay in the wedding tent.

(2) The husband and the wife enter into a great many in-law relationships as the result of their marriage. To some of these in-laws joking has already been established owing to the cross-cousin relationship. To other brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, joking is adopted only after marriage. This of course is true of all brothers and sisters-in-law should husband and wife have no blood-relationship to each other. — The newly-married couple enters into an elaborate avoidance-relationship to their true and classificatory parents-in-law. Their position towards these relations before marriage was one of respect, which is now reinforced by avoidance. In Ayr the husband changes his joking relations with mother's brother's wife into avoidance. It seems as if avoidance relations established at a marriage partly explain the wedding ceremony, for the Tuareg say that a young and newly-married couple will sometimes stay in the wedding tent more than seven days on the grounds that they are afraid to emerge and meet the parents-in-law.

It seems as if the wedding ceremony in its whole arrangement corresponds well to the modification of kinship behaviour at a marriage. The dominating position of the husband is intimated by the fact that he comes first to the tent which is entered in a more direct way than is the case for the wife who comes later. It would seem as if the ceremony is less suited to marriages like those with a mother's sister's daughter or her daughter, as in such marriages the kinship behaviour of the spouses and in-